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A

BRIEF REVIEW
OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS,
SERVICES AND SUFFERINGS,
OF
NEW ENGLAND,

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ESPECIALLY

The PROVINCE of MASSACHUSET'S-BAY.

Humbly submitted to the Consideration of
both Houses of Parliament.

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REPORT

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

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OF

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Humbly dedicated to the Commission of
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ADVERTISEMENT,

By the EDITOR.

IT is far from being the design of this pamphlet to calumniate private characters, or to inflame the passions of the Reader, by any bitter, personal invectives. The Author intends nothing more, than to lay before the Publick a fair and impartial state of facts; and submits the propriety of the conclusions drawn from those facts, to the cool determination of every unbiassed understanding. The Editor most heartily concurs with the Author, in wishing that a due attention to the several considerations herein suggested, may serve to convince the unprejudiced, that the opposition of the Colonies to certain measures, did not owe its rise to any disaffection to the mother-country, or disloyalty to their Sovereign — that it may also prevent the undue influence of misrepresentation — and prove, in some

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degree, the happy occasion of tempering the decisions of the British Parliament, with an equitable respect to the claims of past services ; and a candid regard to the jealousies and resentments, natural to a people who are descended from British ancestors, who have struggled so hard, fought so gloriously, and bled so freely, to procure and defend their civil and religious liberties. That so the honour of his Majesty's crown may be most effectually secured, his name endeared to his American subjects, and the union, mutual affection, and prosperity of Great-Britain, and the Colonies, be happily restored, and established upon the most honourable basis.

A BRIEF



BRIEF REVIEW, &c.

AMERICA, *New England* in particular, was first settled by a pious people from *England*, who were not allowed to worship their Maker, according to his institutions, in their native country, without the mixture of human inventions. Animated therefore by the best of principles, they were spirited to attempt a settlement at a distance from *Britain*, that so they might enjoy a worship purely scriptural, and leave the same to their posterity. They accordingly provided all things necessary for their removal, at their own expence, and sailed for an unknown country. Their

first arrival was at *Cap Cod*, which is situated in the *Massachusetts-Bay*; and they sat down at a place which they call *New Plymouth*, utterly unknown, and in the advance of winter. Wherever they turned their eyes, the utmost distress surrounded them: fatigued with their boisterous voyage, disappointed of their expected country *Virginia*; without any prospect of human succour, without the help or favour of *England*, without a patent, without a promise of their religious liberties, without convenient shelter from the weather, and their hardships almost beyond the power of language to describe. Clambs, oysters, and lobsters were their daily food; their clothing soon became rags, and skins of beasts; their prospects on the sea were extensive, but afforded no relief; on the land, their views were limited to a few rods, by a wilderness altogether in the dress of uncultivated nature. Their only neighbours, the most savage, cruel, and blood-thirsty of all the human race,

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over-numbered them a thousand to one, and were united in a confederacy to destroy them while few and weak. These are a few of the numberless sufferings which attended their first settlement; so that, in less than five months after their arrival, above half the company died; yet the survivors bore all their misfortunes, with a christian fortitude and patience, as extraordinary as their trials. “Brown bread and the gospel is good fare,” they used to say to one another, for their mutual encouragement to patience and endurance. Thus they were carried on, and soon began to increase in numbers; so that when the *French* at *Port Royal*, in *Nova Scotia*, disturbed them, they raised an army in 1690 under Sir WILLIAM PHIPPS, and took that fort, and therewith the whole country of *Acadie*, which was afterwards ceded to the *French* at the treaty of *Ryswick*.

The same year, the *New-Englanders* raised three thousand men, to make an attempt

attempt upon *Canada*, but failed of success; after having sustained the loss of a thousand lives, and the expence of fifteen thousand pounds.

About 18 years after, they made another attempt against *Port Royal*, but had not the former success.

Near the same time, Queen ANNE signified her royal intention to reduce *Canada*; and making the same known to the *New Englanders*, they acceded to every measure with great alacrity; but the Parliament did not proceed on the design.

The next year, *New England* raised an army, and took *Port-Royal*, with the assistance of only five hundred *British* troops; since which time, the *Massachusetts's* province, by the vigilance of their late Governor SHIRLEY, in sending provincial troops to their timely assistance, has saved that fort two or three times

times from falling into the enemy's hand; and it is owing to their aid, that it is now in the hands of the *English*, together with the whole country of *Nova Scotia*.

Soon after, they raised more than their quota, in the unfortunate expedition against *Canada*, under General HILL; and sustained a great loss of men, together with an heavy expence.

In 1703, *Jamaica* being threatned with an invafion, applied to *Massachusets-Bay* for help; the inhabitants of that province raifed two companies, and fent them under the command of Colonel WALTON, and Captain LARAMORE; which timely aid arrived fafe to the ifland, but very few of them ever returned to their own country.

In 1740, they raised many hundred
men, and made an attempt upon the
B island

island of *Cuba* ; but failing of success, most of those men were unhappily buried on that island.

In 1745, the *New England* provinces set on foot an expedition against *Cape Breton*, under General PEPPERELL ; and raised 3500 men, who were embarked on board a sufficient number of transports, with provisions, artillery, and every necessary for a campaign, guarded by a number of armed ships. In this important business they were successful. *Great-Britain* knew nothing of this attempt, neither did any other colony afford any assistance ; nor was there any, except from Admiral WARREN, who came from the *West-Indies* with four ships of war, and joined the fleet before *Louisbourg*, when the conquest was half compleated ; so that he did not fire a single gun at any of the strong fortresses of the enemy ; and the city of *Louisbourg*, together with the islands of *Cape Breton*,
and

and *St. John's*, surrendered to the *New England* forces. And although the land and sea forces went forth as equal adventurers, (according to a previous agreement at *Boston*) yet when a great treasure, viz. a *French* ship from the *South-Seas*, two *French* ships from the *East-Indies*, and several other ships of immense value (which put into *Louisbourg* to recruit in their way home) fell into our hands by means of this capture; the admiral ordered them to *England* for condemnation, and the property was all divided among the King's ships, and not one farthing of it was ever enjoyed by the *New England* troops; except a small sum which Captain FLETCHER received, after near as much expended in his application to obtain it. Thus, by means of this undertaking of *New England*, double, if not treble the cash was brought into *England*, that ever *England* paid for this important piece of service; and the conquest itself was very soon

after given up to the *French*, to buy a peace for the *Dutch*. *New England* was indeed paid the expence of this expedition by the crown; but at such a low rate, that many were ruined in their fortunes *. The benefit of all these conquests accrued to this nation, and *New England* was obliged to set down where it began, with this difference only, that they lost nineteen hundred of their best men.

In 1746, *Great-Britain* set on foot an expedition against *Canada*. *New England* was desired to raise its quota of men, and a great expence was incurred for that purpose; but westerly (some say, *F——b*) winds blew so hard, and so long, on the *British* ports, that the fleet

* The pay of a private man was but about two ounces of silver *per* month, finding their own clothes and arms; when, at the same time, they paid four ounces of silver *per* month, for men to work on their farms.

destined

destined for that service did not get out of the harbours, and this expedition came to nothing. Here it may be mentioned, that near the same time, the Duke *D'Anville*, with about 20 sail of *French* ships of the line, was suffered to approach the coast of *New England*, UNDISTURBED; though he came to revenge the taking of *Cape Breton*, and the reduction of *Louisbourg* by the *New Englanders*. Divine Providence was pleased to interfere; the fleet was scattered, and only a few ships returned to *France*, having done *New England* no damage, except putting them to considerable expence in watching their motion, and preparing to give them a proper reception; and making captures of a number of the fishing vessels.

During the last war, *New England* at every call, raised its quota of men, and joined the *British* troops. The numbers raised, and the chearfulness with which they were raised, will hardly

find credit in the annals of history. And although at the beginning of the war, through a mistake in measures, the nation met with great discouragement, and was almost ready to fall a prey into the enemy's hand; yet no sooner was that great minister (yet living) advanced to the helm of national affairs, and the best and most faithful officers appointed to command the troops, but it set *New England* in triumph. Every measure proposed, was adopted; and, as one instance, the *Massachusetts*'s province raised seven thousand men to serve in one campaign, and paid and clothed them; besides three thousand more which were, at the same time, in pay on their own more immediate service. All these together amounted to near a *fourth* part, of all the men in the whole province, capable of bearing arms. In this spirited manner they proceeded, until the war was finished; which swept away a large proportion of their fighting men, and involved

yolved the province in a debt, which will not be paid in fifty years.

It may now be inquired, how *New-England* behaved under all the sufferings and services before-mentioned? Did they despair? No. War was almost their continual employment, when the mother-country was at peace, as well as when it was at war. From their first arrival to the end of the last war, scarce a village was settled, but what was broken up once, or oftener, by the Savages. Men, women, and children, whole families, villages, and towns, were murdered, scalpt, and captivated, and their whole substance committed to the flames. It may be said with truth, that most of the inland towns were once, or twice, soaked with the blood of their inhabitants. Did they murmur at being thus oppressed, while wholly neglected by the nation? No. Did they grow disaffected to the national interest? The contrary to all this, was manifest. They loved and
revered

revered the nation, to a degree of excess and enthusiasm. New glory to the crown, new acquisitions of territory, happiness, and wealth to *England*, were ever as much a source of joy to *New England*, as to the nation itself: and every misfortune that befel the parent country, as deeply affected the *New England* colonies. However strange this may seem, it is an undoubted truth. If the nation prospered, they fought with reiterated vigour, and bore hardships with patience and fortitude; nay, such was their sincerity, and the strength of their affections and regard for the mother-country, that the news of any dark cloud gathering over *England*, would most visibly sink their spirits, and distil in tears. On such occasions, the adverse aspect of affairs was the melancholy topick of their consultations at the general court; and whether any thing could be done by them to prevent the approaching danger, became the principal object of their attention. If you went into their churches,

churches, they would be often found praying, fasting, and weeping, that the impending evil might be averted; and the same was observable in private families.

Thus they went on, from year to year, and from age to age, with an invincible attachment to a country, to which, besides love, they owed nothing but a dear-bought charter, and the birth of a few of their fore-fathers.

It may now be considered, of what advantage *New England* is to the mother-country, more especially above the *West-India* islands, considering the charge the nation has been put to, to secure and defend them separately. At first glance, the difference is nearly, as something is to nothing; at least, till the commencement of the last war. What numerous fleets and armies have, at all times, been employed in the *West-India* islands, both in peace and war? Who can tell the

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millions sterling, those islands have cost the nation, to secure, protect, and defend them? Even in a time of general peace, an expedition must be set on foot, to suppress a few *Caribbs* (of late) at *St. Vincent's*; the very thought of which creates a blush. *New England* has, for all that time, been *intirely* left to its own fate. In common there was not so much sea force, as would amount to an armed long boat, provided at the cost of the crown; not a single officer, or private man in pay of the crown (till since the last peace) though the war was ever so hot, and danger ever so threatening. God alone appeared to be the guardian of *New England*, and carried the inhabitants through the many difficulties which attended their struggle, under the auspices of his gracious providence—a struggle, which has raised, as it were, an empire to the *British* crown, and a vast fund of wealth and glory to the nation.—Rivers of blood were laid in this foundation, at the sole expence of the inhabitants of *New England*.

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Great numbers of *New England* men are trained up to the sea, in fishing vessels, and on other voyages ; so that it is a good nursery for the royal navy. The refuse of their fish, together with all kinds of provisions, horses, and lumber, they carry to the *West-Indies*, without which the islanders could not make sugar, &c. so cheap as they now do. And should *New England* stop the trade to the islands, a plantation there would hardly be worth acceptance, if the islanders must be supplied with provisions from *Europe*.

The best sort of fish is sent to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *Straits* ; the neat proceeds of which, are remitted to *England* in cash. Oil, bone, masts for the royal navy, timber of all kinds (which is now sent home in rafts) ships of every kind, pot-ash, furs, &c. &c. (many of which *England* was obliged to other nations for, before *New England* was known) are the immediate exports to *Great-*
C 2. *Britain.*

Britain. In return for all, they receive the manufactories of *England*, and thereby give bread to thousands of *British* subjects. Thus all their labour centers in *England*, excepting their daily food.

It is manifest, that some of the most northern colonies, (especially *Massachusetts-Bay*,) while the national debt has been contracting, have been at almost an infinite expence of blood and treasure, to defend themselves ; and, in a number of instances, to carry their arms into the enemy's country, by which his majesty's service has been greatly promoted for a century past, until the commencement of the last war. With a very little help from *Connecticut* and *New Hampshire* colonies only, they have been the grand barrier of many of his majesty's other colonies, on the continent ; at least so much, that it may be affirmed, had they not exerted themselves, more than all the other colonies together, with the nation's assistance, the laying duties on the colonies
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had been a needless business seventy years ago. LOUIS the 14th of *France*, who first projected the conquest of *America*, might have accomplished his designs, if *Massachuset's-Bay* had not effectually covered the whole country.—*New York*, and *New Hampshire*, (both of them royal governments) were by their situation somewhat exposed. As to the former, their trade and intercourse with the *French*, and *Indians*, gave them great advantage, in turning the heat of the war, from their own doors, to those of *Massachuset's-Bay*. Respecting the latter, near a fourth part of *Massachuset's* province, was added to *New Hampshire*, and after this addition of territory, which was so much exposed to the enemy, and which *New Hampshire* was unable to defend; the province of *Massachuset's-Bay*, at a very great expence, defended it for them; *New Hampshire* has not yet paid one farthing of the expence, although application was made to *England* for that purpose, and restitution was promised, or
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else that the territory should be returned ; neither of which promises hath ever been performed.

Let us now inquire, whether *New England* hath not a just right to expect some peculiar advantages, as the fruit of their sufferings, services, &c.

First, have they not reason to expect, and an unquestionable right to claim, a national confidence in their future attachment to the *British* interest ? This is a question of great importance ; because if they had good reason and clear right to expect this opinion from the *English*, then every oppressive measure is unjust, arbitrary, and cruel. And if it be considered, how unnatural any oppression of our fellow-subjects must be, who have given such unparalleled evidence, of their adherence to the national good ; and how likely to introduce distraction, and beget distrust and disaffection, surely, common prudence will direct a *British* Minister to

avoid or repeal such impolitic, ruinous, and oppressive measures.

Again, have they not both reason and right to expect some *peculiar* advantages, particularly such, as were not balanced, much less over-balanced, by any pecuniary advantages? Doth not the loss of fourteen or fifteen thousand men (which they sustained during the last war) besides a heavy debt yet remaining, after twelve years taxes, to the amount of at least four shillings in the pound, deserve some compensation, at least such, as will place them on an equitable adjustment with the other *American* provinces?

Again, have they not good reason to expect, as all their labour centers in *England*, that it should excuse them from being taxed, to pay the national debt? especially, while they support a government of their own. And that all taxes should be laid consistently with *British* liberty, and be void of all partiality, no
just

just men can possibly deny. Ought not the *English* nation to rest satisfied, and content, with the same kind of services from them, as from his Majesty's other subjects? This is certain, they have done as much for the national glory, and have exulted in it. Why then, should they not share in the same immunities? At least be exempt from the same oppressions? And why submit to taxes, unless by their own representatives?

Let us now inquire, into the necessity of taking or imposing duties, on the colonies; or whether there was any authority for such a step, while their charters continued in force? The question shall not be, about the necessity the nation was under, of assistance from the colonies. No doubt, it stands in need of help from them; but such help should be in proportion to the ability of the respective colonies, and to the expence the nation hath been put to, in protecting, securing, and defending them severally.

severally. But the true inquiry seems to be, what was the necessity of raising this money by authority of parliament?

To say that this measure, so extremely alarming to the colonies, was necessary, in order to obtain their help, is very strange. The reason is, that the colonies were never asked, if they would raise a sum themselves, on a requisition from *England*. This method was taken in time of war, in raising men; and when it is considered, how chearfully they complied with every request, although heavy, and burthensome to the last degree, and, with what an intire confidence in his Majesty's wisdom, this was done; it must needs create some wonder, that this method for raising money, to discharge the national debt, never was proposed to them. There was the greatest probability from long experience, as well as from the good disposition the colonies then manifested, that it would have been complied with, and the money paid into

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the Exchequer, without half the distress on the people; and with *three parts in four* of more clear revenue to the crown, than by the present duty, or tax in the way since adopted. There would have been no infringement on charter rights, no disaffection from the parent country; and no regret, that they had fought and bled for chains, would have been heard among the inhabitants. Supposing this method had failed, the steps which have been taken, might have had some seeming appearance of necessity.

It may now be inquired, whether the crown has received any benefit from these duties, or not?

Here then let it be considered, what vast sums of money are first paid to the officers, and others who receive their salaries out of this revenue (and the unlimited power the board of commissioners have, of increasing the number of officers under them), which are so many,
that

that there were but about *eighty-five* pounds paid into the Exchequer, the last year. Farther, what numbers of men of war, and swarms of armed vessels, and armed boats, and how many regiments of *British* troops are also employed, *under pretence* of protecting the officers of this revenue, whose pay comes from another quarter? This must necessarily leave a large balance against the nation.

Did not the people of *New England* undergo such hardships and sufferings as have been stated, in the first settlement of the country? Did they not make a conquest of *Nova Scotia*, once and again? Did they not always exert themselves for the national interest, by complying with every requisition for that purpose? Have they not behaved themselves dutifully, and ever loyal to the crown of *England*? And have their services and sufferings been attended with the expence of so much blood and treasure, that they have even raised an empire to the

crown of *Great-Britain*, and are they allowed to have and maintain a government of themselves, by a charter under the crown of *England*, and all this at the sole expence of the inhabitants? If so, then every measure already taken, or which may be about to be taken by the parent country, that is grievous to them, is but an unkind return; it is not treating them as every father is wont to treat his children, and if such treatment should be continued, it will, perhaps, end in the utter ruin of the whole family.

If the foregoing representation of *New England* be true, (as all unprejudiced men, who have knowledge of the history, will witness,) the following remarks may be made.

First. Can it be for the interest of the nation, to continue the duties on the colonies, when the expence of collecting them, is double, if not treble,
the

the amount of the whole duties collected?

Secondly. Can it be for the interest of the nation, to lose the affections of four or five millions of brave, loyal, and loving subjects, always inured to manly freedom, who have never thought it too much to venture their lives and fortunes, and every thing dear and valuable to them, if by any means they could add to the glory, wealth, and opulence of the nation? This they have done, at all times, when there was the least probability of success.

Finally, Can it be for the interest of the nation to keep up an armed force in *New England*, especially in time of peace? How *vague* is the pretence, for thus affronting, and even murdering some of the inhabitants, corrupting their morals by debauchery, drunkenness, profaneness, &c!—*Sins* but little known among them, until troops were quartered upon

them. Surely such a torrent of evils, as has rushed in upon them by means of the measures taken by the mother-country, is a far greater punishment, than all the hardships and difficulties they endured, from their first settlement, to the end of the last war. In all those hardships and sufferings, there was no general complaint or murmurings. But how far this is from being the case at present, is manifest to the world; and there is no doubt, but they would rather have continued to have fought *Canada* to the knees in blood, with their charter rights in full possession, than to be freed even from so dreadful a calamity, and have the evils beforementioned heaped upon them. Let me add, that all men of sobriety, who have the national interest at heart, tremble to think, what the end of these proceedings will be.


Upon the whole, notwithstanding the hard treatment the colonies have met with of late years, viz. In having duties or
taxes

taxes imposed upon them, by the *British* parliament, quartering troops in the capital town, wresting *Castle William** out of the hands of *Massachusetts-Bay*, which built, furnished and maintained it, at their sole expence; without either paying the province for the fort and its artillery, or so much as promising that the crown of *England* would pay for it; besides the numerous other dreadful evils which have attended these measures.—Notwithstanding these things the colonies do not wholly despair, but continue to be loyal and loving subjects to his present Majesty, hoping that the influence of individuals will be of short continuance. They never have doubted, that if the nation should seriously and dispassionately once attend to the services which the colonies have done it, of what impor-

* A fortress built on an island, three miles from *Boston*, commanding all ships that enter the harbour; it has upwards of 100 large cannon, a number of mortars, and every necessary suitable for a fortification.

tance they must ever be to its interests, and that all their past services have been effected in the enjoyment of their civil and religious rights and privileges, the nation would grant them the full possession thereof for the time to come. In this hope, under God, they have hitherto persevered; nay, so well grounded, do they suppose this hope to be, that however strange it may seem, though the measures which have so much aggrieved them, were adopted by the representative body of the empire, they do not yet give it up; although it is like hoping against hope.

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